

/116 cont./

343 In addition to these dwellings only a few houses have
 • [574] separate buildings, such as, for example, one or, if need be,
 [513] two storehouses or a small house (yatléckwe) in which friends
 and neighbors sleep when they help the owner for days for the
 251 joint work of expressing sugar cane or for the harvest. In the
 343 storehouse (kotyavyat: literally "maize storehouse") only maize
 [262] and beans are stored, not wheat or garden produce. Fruit, yuca,
 potatoes, and arracacha are not kept on hand or stored at all,
 but always merely fetched as needed and eaten immediately.
 Wheat is tied in bundles below the ears on stalks about 20 centi-
 meters long and hung up under the roof above the fire. Maize
 and beans may be kept up to two years in the storehouse. For
 this purpose horizontal cross-sticks are fastened in it, over
 which the ears are hung, and racks consisting of maize stalks
 [25] laid close together are constructed for the beans. These racks,
 too, are hung up, if possible, or at least are fastened quite
 high above the floor so that the mice (únsa) cannot get to them.
 [231] In addition, a cat (míš) is shut up in the storehouse, if one is
 available. Stalls for the livestock are unknown.

34 In the middle of the village of Calderas, on community
 land, stand the church (iglésia), the community house (kabñdeyár),
 and the six festival houses of the six largest families (Ill. 147
 /see p. 264 /). In their construction, they are likewise hip-
 roofed houses, but their walls are built in the manner of the
 colonists' houses, /117/ out of vertical posts, on the inside and
 outside of which bamboo poles or straight branches are tied
 horizontally. To strengthen the posts the interstices are filled
 with earth, clay, and, in the lower part, also with stones. The
 filling is spread smoothly and the wall whitewashed inside and
 [373] out. Whereas light enters the other houses through the door and
 the not very tightly sealed walls made of maize stalks placed side
 by side, light can enter the above-mentioned houses consisting of
 solid walls only through the relatively small door and the opening
 of the roof ridge, which makes the interior rather dark.

/118 cont. /

342 ceiling height. It should be noted that all the beams are merely
335 lashed with lianas, /119/ but not mortised. The roof does not rest directly on the corner and side posts; rather, the crossbeams (bikas) and the rafters (yátkát) are tied to the rectangular, horizontal frame of the roof, and only the latter rests on the vertical posts.

The fourth step in the work is the building in of the ridge beam (dahwāk), together with the rafters, the former being supported primarily by the center post (pwát), usually the only house post that extends vertically through to the ridge. It is not exactly in the middle of the longitudinal axis of the house, but somewhat to the side of it, in the place where the two rooms of the house are partitioned off. Here it serves at the same time as a wall post. The horizontal purlins (kwīnt), which are lashed to the rafters (yátkát) one above the other about 20 centimeters apart, are the only part of the house frame that is not of wood, but instead they consist of a type of reed (karís). The roof (yátominyē) is covered with sugar-cane leaves (nyūša éts) by proceeding from the bottom up and hanging the leaves over the purlins in such a way that the tips lie on top and the lower parts show on the outside. Finally one or two ridge purlins are laid over the still open ridge, and an even layer of sugar-cane leaves is spread crosswise over this. The elevation thus formed provides an exit for the smoke at the two gable ends of the house. The ridge covering is protected from blowing away by two poles placed over it (Ill. 162 /see p. 272 /).

342 A newly built house (yátūse) lasts about 15 years. In be-
356 tween, however, the roof must be repaired several times.

● 574 of fermentation arising from the chicha, somewhat like that at
576 grape-gathering time in the houses of the German winegrowers'
[273] villages. Before entering, one opens the door (vitc) of the house and calls out in a questioning tone, "payoēt" (I should like to enter); from the interior there comes back, "mkač" (sit down). When no one is at home, the door is usually tied shut with a small piece of bast. Sometimes even this is omitted, for no one

/119 cont./

574 would ever enter a house whose occupants were not present. We
576 never succeeded in persuading Victoriano to enter an empty house,
although he knew that we were always greatly interested in learn-
ing about the interior of houses and their furnishings.

342 The door of the house is only in rare cases a wide board
which at the top and bottom on one side runs out into two pegs
which turn in a socket, one in the threshold and one in the door-
frame. The entrance is generally constructed in the same
fashion as the wall (ind), which /120/ consists of vertical maize
stalks placed next to one another as closely as possible and lashed
by means of bast or a liana to one another and to two horizontal
maize stalks. The latter always reach from side post to side post.
At the place for the door, the rigid wall is interrupted, and the
vertically placed maize stalks, only loosely bound with bast,
may be shoved a little to one side, whereby they drag along the
ground (Ill. 158 /see p. 270 /).

[231] Dogs, cats, and chickens are kept in the houses, but not
pigs, which live out of doors all the time, exactly like the cows,
horses, and sheep.

c) Household Implements

Generally the house has only one division into two rooms,
the smaller of which is the kitchen, living room, and bedroom,
the larger serving as storage and supply room. The wall between
these two rooms is likewise only made out of maize stalks set
next to one another vertically. In the "large" houses the larger
[249] part contains the sugar mill, by means of which undiluted sugar-
[404] cane juice may be produced, even in rainy weather. In case
596 adult married sons live in their father's house, a separate com-
342 partment divided off in the same manner is built for these fami-
lies and furnished as a kitchen, either next to the living room
of the parents or -- as in most cases -- on the other side of the
354 house. The hearth area is the family center, and every married
596 woman, in case she is living as a daughter-in-law in the house
of the father-in-law, has her own hearth area. The latter has
the simplest possible form.

/201 cont. /

461 Whereas the men for the most part plait straw hats when they
28 have nothing else to do, the women are busy with spinning and making the coca bags or the fiber bags. But even at this they do not work steadily in the sense, say, that they complete first one bag, for example, or make all the preparations from the outset for weaving an article of clothing; rather, they always work a little at a time on each task. Thus, for example, first a little spinning is done, then wood is fetched, then a coca bag is worked on, and then perhaps a brief hour is spent at the loom in order to weave a few centimeters more on the carrying band of the fiber bags, if the fiber material is at hand. No preparations are made for this plaiting and weaving for a long period in advance, but rather one provides herself with wool, spins it, weaves a bit farther, and then drops the work again for a week or more. Nevertheless, the women do not have periods of out-and-out idleness, like the men.

461 This doing-nothing is designated among the Paez with a word of
● 574 Spanish origin pasnyándo (paseando). To be sure, one must not
156 overdo the inactivity, that is, not "go for a walk" longer than
[192] about two weeks in succession, for otherwise one is called "alko"
(dog), who runs from house to house, sniffs about everywhere, and gets his food from other people by begging. This is encouraged by the unwritten law of the Paez, to give food to a starving person,
[773] wherever it may be, until he is satisfied. This is taken very seriously, not only when adults are the petitioners, but also in the case of small children, in memory of an event in prehistoric times when Chauté /202/ turned a number of persons into stones because they had not given a begging child anything to eat out of their surplus (see the myths /see p. 224 /). Hence if anyone enters a house "pasnyándo," he is given something to eat. Younger, unmarried people in particular take advantage of this and sometimes do not work at all, but go to a different house every day. They inquire as to where sugar cane is being milled, help there, are given chicha to drink and food to eat, and the next day go somewhere else. Thus there are some men who have neither house nor field, but nevertheless live quite well. To be sure, the

/202 cont./

461 villagers know these "strollers," and even say that they are
● 574 sluggards who do not work; but if they then come at mealtime, they
156 get their food and are usually kept there gladly, because they know
how to tell stories well and amusingly, go around everywhere,
and always have news to impart. If a man is married and has a
wife and children, he must, of course, cultivate his own field, in
order to be able to feed his family. In Calderas, however, there
is even a married "stroller" who has neither a house of his own nor
his own field. He lives in the house of a good-natured man whom
he helps in the field and in the house. But this is regarded as an
exception.

829 Thanks for favors or benefits bestowed, which, according
571 to the view of the Paez, are taken for granted, were not custom-
[576] ary originally. Today, however, thanks are often expressed with
[178] a word of Spanish origin "slopage" (Dios se lo pague), without,
however, any feeling of a debt of gratitude, such as toward a
[621] wealthy person or a person in a superior position. Within the Paez
communities there is, to be sure, no sociologically established
authority; similarly, there is no chief or employer of a number
of people who would be dependent upon him and owe him obedience.
Hence no one is forced to obey anyone whom he does not like or
to do anything that he may not care to do. Accordingly, there is
no respect for strangers to the place or even for the priest, for
when the Calderun are in their village, "on their soil," everyone
regards everyone else as equal. Not the least important in this
connection is the general understanding of one another by the in-
habitants, their strengths and weaknesses, which makes pretense,
any spurious authority simply assumed by an official, impossible.
This is one reason -- perhaps the principal reason -- why the
Calderun purposely do not want to have anything to do with the
"blancos" and their officials. An attempt to trace this back to an
[565] awareness of their own inferiority indicates a complete misunder-
standing of the character of the Paez. Their lack of social classes,
and therefore the impossibility of looking down on /203/ another
person, explains their general respect for one another, which is
bestowed on everyone equally. Everyone grants everyone else

/192 cont. /

796 Then the new fiesteros look for assistants, called albaceros and mayordomos. At the close of the fiesta, accompanied by the cabildo and the old fiesteros, they go to the priest to be put on record and announced as the fiesteros for the following year. Each receives a church banner, and then in procession they walk round the church and proceed at once to one of the houses of the pueblo, previously requested from its owner, amidst the bursting of firecrackers and the strains of music.

[273] There, chicha and aguardiente will be served to the albacero, mayordomos, and the others present, even before they have finished drinking the liquor of the old fiestero. They will also be given a meal, for which a bull has been slaughtered.

794 The months go by. The need for money to cover the costs
796 is pressing. Fiesteros and albaceros, with their wives and sometimes also with a few friends, leave their land and, keeping to themselves, set out for Inzá, La Plata, or Popayán to sign up as laborers on haciendas which they know personally or through trustworthy references. Their daily pay will be one peso and food. Not even coca /193/ /illustration appears here/ is part of their ration. Husband and wife do the same work and earn the same pay.

After two months they return once more to their land, carrying in their pouches gunpowder, wicks and salt. Sometimes, a machete fastened to the belt. The fiestero bears the brunt of the expense: camarico (1) /footnote 1 is missing; the camarico is the gift customarily given to a guest/ for the priest and the latter's fees; candles for the altar; gunpowder for the Mass and the social functions; the cleaning of the church; "care" for the albacero and hospitality to visitors for the period of three weeks. The albacero is in charge of the celebration of vespers: lights for the church, the vacaloca /"crazy cow," a feature of the fiesta/, fireworks, and gunpowder.

• [574] The mayordomos contribute money (one peso) for the priest's fees and candles to light the church.

526 /214 cont. /

796 reach the houses, where they have a short rest while their
492 owners greedily drink the guarapo offered them by the occupants.

796 The fiesteros and albaceros, accompanied by a great
793 number of people, go once more to the priest. They bring
him the names of the fiesteros for the following year. The
priest reads aloud the names of the fiesteros, the albaceros,
and the mayordomos. The pronunciation of each name is
accompanied by the ringing of a bell which is entrusted to a
fiscal; when the announcement is over, there is a general
pealing of bells. Each fiestero is advised by 15 to 20 mayordomos.

796 Then, kneeling in front of the church door, the old
fiesteros hand over the banners to the new ones. They form a
procession, and upon ending it, in the same spot where the
banners were exchanged, they hand them over to the síndico,
who waves them in the air one by one and ends by seeming to
[787] drive them into the ground. If by chance the banner wraps it-
[763] self around its own staff, some misfortune will befall the new
fiestero. As a rule it is an omen of death, which fills with
great sadness the fiestero whose banner had this happen to it.

Now each fiestero goes home, bearing in his hands the
banner of the saint.

XXI

Banquet for the Albacero

796 After the procession the fiestero goes to the house of the
574 albacero, where he receives attention with the above-mentioned
calabashes of chicha and bottles of aguardiente. When this
feast is over, the company moves to the house of the fiestero.
In the center of the sala there stands next to the pango the
table with two burning candles at the ends, the calabashes of
chicha, and the liters of aguardiente. The albacero, síndico,

/214 cont. /

796 and their respective wives do the honors of the table. With
574 the etiquette and courtesies already mentioned, the gift is
[576] presented to them and the corresponding distribution is made.
[431] /215/ The laborers and the fiesteros move from the sala
[576] to the kitchen and from there to the sala. "Guechi pikin ustau"
(we are coming along), they say, upon entering the fiuhne
wala. "Anjiha," reply those present.

The kitchen is full of prepared food, and the women are busy filling plates of various sizes; large ones, others medium-sized, and the smallest. The distributors are in charge of handing them out to the recipients. This time they will serve three different dishes:

[262] 1st, maize griddlecakes and meat; 2nd, stew made with bananas, potatoes, arracacha, and chopped meat; and 3rd, yuca, raw and cooked cabbage, and meat.

The albacero and wife and the síndico and spouse are congratulated with a bowlful of each of these three "courses." The mayordomos receive a smaller amount, and the rest of those present plates for everyday consumption.

Of these "courses," only the last one is distributed when there are many persons present. Everyone is equipped with a pouch. They sip the broth, squeeze out the solid food with their hands, and store it away in it. Drunkenness and fatigue permit little talk.

[535] After eating, or rather, after having collected food, the music sounds. The fiestero and albacero dance with each other's wives. They carry lighted candles in their hands. The dance is slow, deliberate, halting. At the end, they all go to the house of the second fiestero to give him the church banners. He will repeat the same religious and social acts, with the same etiquette and the same courtesies.

/216 cont./

796 Father: "I want to beat this child because he cries too much."

Mother: "Why should you beat your child? It is not his fault. It is the fault of your penis."

[431] At five o'clock in the morning the fiestero and his wife go to the house of the albacero with their "camarico": chicha, aguardiente, firecracker, skyrocket, candles, chicken, bananas, arracacha, yuca, meat, cumin seeds, and salt. At six o'clock they return.

[522] The musicians play their instruments and the people make jokes. One of them makes a taunting, jesting one referring to the activity of the previous night: "I am not going to mass, because I have no trousers. I have some, but they are stained." As the bells ring, the musicians and a few people go to mass.

XXIII

The Laborers' Day

796 When everything is over, the priest has left for Belalcázar.
465 the musicians with their swollen lips and aphonic throats have
574 gone home, and the people are gorged with chicha and aguardiente, the fiestero still has to pay attention to--to care for--his obliging laborers. /217/ /Illustration appears here./ They did not have the opportunity to parade to the house of the albacero or to vespers or in the procession. Not even to get drunk to the same degree as the guests. The fiestero is also grateful for their services. Now, in payment for it, he must take care of them. For this he has left part of the beef under the smoke of the hearth. They will have their trough of chicha, their bottles of aguardiente, their firecrackers. They will be served at the table where the albacero was attended to

/217 cont. /

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796 and in the same fashion. Abundant food and drink will be the
465 testimonial of his gratitude. They will also have the musicians
● 574 and dance. They will wake up in the morning, like those at
the fiesta, lying on the ground.

/309 cont. /

685 The natives do not steal maize. If they need some, they
 243 buy it from their neighbor. Such transactions are made at very
 [432] low prices. If someone refuses to sell, that is to say, "is stingy
 [623] with maize," the buyer threatens to rob him, although he never
 [692] does it if he is a good person, but will if he is bad (sorcerer).
 Such thefts are punished by the cabildo.

243 When the ear of maize is filled out and tender (choclo /a
 [789] roasting ear/) consumption begins, after the performance of
 magical practices if the produce is from a new clearing (14).

14. Ibid., p. 246.

Consumption begins at the outer part and all around the field,
 leaving the central part to turn into dry maize. If someone
 picks maize from just any part, people comment acidly that
 he "eats like a dog." The harvesting of the maize is done in
 one or two days. Relatives and friends are invited to help
 [476] and are rewarded with approximately one arroba. The same
 [463] amount is also given to those who helped disinterestedly with
 the clearing and sowing.

243 /310/ An informant from Mosoco says that it is customary
 431 among the natives to present relatives and friends with a "carrera"
 /stretch, row/ of each harvest. Those of wheat and barley are
 excepted. The carrera consists in harvesting all the "matas"
 /bushes, sprigs/ that remain around the plantings, since, as
 we have seen, the harvesting is done from the periphery to the
 center. The beneficiaries in turn do the same, so that the
 amounts received are reciprocally returned. This favor to rela-
 tives and friends carries with it implicit factors of understanding
 and affection, for not all receive this manifestation of esteem.

243 The same informant says that the consumption of roasting ears
 574 begins with what is called "cura de la labranza" /treatment of
 the field/, which consists of the following: The owner invites
 his relatives and friends to a kind of banquet with an abundance
 of tender-maize cakes /bollos/ or tamales /envueltos/, chicken,
 and other select dishes.

262 /351 cont./

[234] settlement and when they are dragging down /352/ the timber;
[237] the milk is not used, except in Mosoco, where we have seen
[534] that it is really consumed.
[342]

[231] The Calderunos say that sheep are eaten frequently in the temperate regions such as Avirama and San Andrés, but few are consumed in Calderas; some say that sheep give wool for clothing. "Why eat them, when they provide ponchos," and others state that to eat mutton brings bad luck, because it would be like eating one's papa.

262 When there are visits by "elders" such as compadres, older
● 574 brothers, fathers-in-law, or own fathers, they are entertained ("cuida") with dishes different from the ordinary ones, based essentially around barnyard fowl and eggs. If there is meat, a large piece is cooked. The compadres, in turn, bring as a gift griddle-cakes (about 15), eggs (about 10), and frequently chickens.

262 There is no special diet for children; they eat exactly the
846 same as adults. There are differences of diet according to sex only when the woman has just given birth. Then, she is given ground maize, arracacha, manioc, ripe plantain, laying hens ("these
[261] are nice and fat"), and mutton. The mejicano is proscribed for them, because it brings cold into the stomach and gives much pain; onions, because they cause a stomach ailment and rot the in-
[844] testines; pork and the frijol bueno for the same reason. Peppers are also taboo for parturient women.

262 For hard labor, it is regarded as good to eat mote, with
263 cabbage, frijol bueno, and well salted, because it gives strength for the daily activities; if one eats the same thing ("a good dish"), but without salt, they say that one is already hungry by the middle of the day.

262 Foods regarded as aphrodisiacs are "sango," prepared with
832 finely ground and sifted maize, and raw eggs.

261 Of the foods that they eat, they believe that chicha and water are transformed into blood, and the maize, potatoes, frijoles, and arracacha into flesh.

To gain weight, they believe that it is necessary to eat and not to work, rather than to follow a special diet.

/353 cont./

262 The Indians like meat, but they state that they eat any type of food; they believe that the "whites" eat better, because the Indians cannot eat meat every day nor spend money on lard or meat. They only eat the produce that they cultivated.

264 The Indians have two meals a day: one at dawn and the other one in the afternoon when the sun is setting. The women and children have one meal at midday, from what was left over from the morning. The principal and large meal is cooked at [252] night. Before lying down the women hang from a wooden or iron hook, or from a wire, the pot with mote or frijoles and stir up the fire at least three times during the night; at four in the morning they add the easily cooked products and eat at the first light of day.

● 574 The natives are generous and hospitable among themselves; 262 no sooner does a visitor enter a home than they offer him whatever they have available: chicha or food.

177 /354/ In the parcialidad of Mosoco, which is undergoing 262 complete acculturation, the diet is changing visibly and the 264 eating hours have changed fundamentally. Coffee, panela, bacon, meat, and maize griddlecakes are consumed regularly.

Trading

43 Except for the parcialidad of Mosoco, the natives produce primarily for internal consumption; but the self-provisioning is insufficient, for they suffer a few months of scarcity. As a result, trading must necessarily be restricted and scanty. In Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, animals are ordinarily exchanged, large, fat cows being surrendered for smaller, thin, fertile heifers and a few pesos besides. We have already referred to this extensively in discussing the livestock. We have also seen how the only industry intended exclusively for trade, that of laurel wax, was a patrimony of San Andrés, Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, Suin, and Chinas, and that the drop in price was a fatal blow for the industry. Thus, aside from coffee, potatoes, wheat, and garlic, which are intended almost entirely for trade, nothing remains but small amounts of manioc, arracacha, plantains,

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 Farming.—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the Páez and Mogux are beginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

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241 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands, but each brings his own food.

[178]
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241 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vegetation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where replaced by plows pulled by animal traction.

Domesticated animals.—Domesticated animals include chickens, turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

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● 574 A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "caríño" (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

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Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated animals—boars (zainos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 Food preparation.—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and enamel ware is now often used. The Páez make "miste," a soup of boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

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/178 cont. /

177 effectively maintained (4). In each house, scattered over the

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4. Bernal Villa, S. "La fiesta de San Juan en
Calderas Tierradentro /The fiesta of San Juan
in Calderas, Tierradentro/," 1953, p. 182.

In each house, scattered over the

594 ruggedness of the prominences, live a pair of adults of the op-
[361] posite sex and their children. It is this nuclear family that cares
for and maintains its old parents and attends to their burial when
they die, that completes the religious festivals with traditional
pomp and rigor (5), that defends its /179/ interests from the

5. Ibid., pp. 192 ff.

attacks of strangers, that in former times celebrated the "Riria"
(which they call Necue) (6) or the first menstruation of a woman

6. In the Vocabulario Páez-Castellano /Spanish-
Páez Vocabulary/ of del Castillo y Orozco there
is the word Nécue, which has the following textual
definition: desaffo; pelea que es un desaffo
solemne tan antiguo como el jentilismo entre
los páeces, de dos campeones cada uno con el
común de su bando /competition, a fight that is
a solemn competition as old as paganism among
the Paez, of two champions, each one with the
community of his faction/.

(which they call Izacó), and, finally, that manufactures its
troughs for chicha ("another cause for vain observance," of which
del Castillo y Orozco speaks) in order to carry out the "bebezones"

594 /drinking parties/ with all who seek to participate. It is this

● 574 nuclear family that "cuida" /takes care of/ relatives who arrive,
609 that offers hospitality to the native traveler and that shows cold
silence toward the visitor from Western culture.